

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 AMMAN 01167 01 OF 02 271239Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 CIAE-00 INR-07  
NSAE-00 DODE-00 PRS-01 IO-13 /058 W  
-----271348 066281 /47

P R 271052Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 737  
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 1167

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, JO, PLO, XF  
SUBJECT: TALK WITH PRIME MINISTER ON PLO DIALOGUE

SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BADRAN TOLD AMBASSADOR GOJ'S  
RECENT SEVEN AND ONE-HALF HOURS OF MEETINGS WITH PLO IN  
AMMAN WERE NOT UNPLEASANT. GOJ BRIEFED PLO "SELECTIVELY"  
ON RECENT FOREIGN VISITORS TO AMMAN INCLUDING SECRETARY  
VANCE. PLO PLEASED WITH JORDAN'S POSITION ON GENEVA  
THAT DEFERS TO PLO ON PALESTINIAN ISSUES, AND BADRAN  
THINKS PLO WOULD ACCEPT GENEVA INVITATION IF LATTER NOT  
SPECIFICALLY TIED TO PALESTINE "REFUGEE" ASPECT OF UNSC  
242. FAHUM MAINTAINS PLO ACCEPTANCE OF WEST BANK/GAZA  
STATE AND WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE MEANS PALESTINE  
NATIONAL COVENANT ALREADY AMENDED DE FACTO TO RECOGNIZE  
ISRAEL'S LEGITIMATE EXISTENCE. WHILE GOJ DURING TALKS  
WAS AMENABLE TO PLO DESIRE FOR JOINT MEETING WITH CON-  
FRONTATION STATES, PROVISION BY PLO ON ITS OWN OF  
FINANCIAL HELP TO WEST BANK, AND TRAVEL TO DAMASCUS BY  
TWO PLO OFFICIALS IN JORDAN, GOJ REJECTED PLO REQUESTS

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PAGE 02 AMMAN 01167 01 OF 02 271239Z

FOR MILITARY ACTIVITY ON WEST BANK, RELEASE OF PALESTINIANS  
IN JORDANIAN DETENTION, RENEWAL OF CANCELLED PASSPORTS  
FOR CERTAIN PALESTINIANS, AND SPECIFIC COMMITMENT AND  
PLANNING FOR FUTURE PLO-GOJ MEETINGS. GOJ RAISED FUTURE PLO  
(WEST BANK) JORDAN LINKS AND SUGGESTED PLO STUDY DOCUMENT ON  
1972 UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PLAN AND BE PREPARED TO COM-  
MENT IN ABSENCE OF ANY PLO PROPOSALS. KING REFUSED

TO SEE ARAFAT BEFORE MARCH 6 CAIRO SUMMIT, BUT IS "OPEN" TO SEEING HIM LATER. ON BASIS OF BADRAN'S REPORT OF MEETINGS, GOJ OBVIOUSLY BELIEVES IT DOES NOT HAVE TO GIVE MUCH IN CURRENT DIALOGUE WITH PLO. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BADRAN ON FEBRUARY 26 GAVE ME DEBRIEF OF MEETINGS EARLIER IN WEEK WITH PLO IN AMMAN. TWO SESSIONS TOOK PLACE COVERING SEVEN AND ONE-HALF HOURS. IN FIRST SESSION ONLY KHALID AL FAHUM SPOKE FOR PLO. IN SECOND HANI AL HASSAN ALSO PERMITTED TO SPEAK. BADRAN RECALLED HE HAD MET SEVERAL YEARS AGO WITH HASSAN IN SAUDI ARABIA AND CONSIDERED RELATIONSHIP GOOD. HASSAN HOWEVER TOLD BADRAN HE HAD BECOME MORE OF A "DIPLOMAT" SINCE LAST MEETINGS, IMPLYING EVASIVENESS, WHICH BADRAN SAID HE HAD STRONGLY REJECTED. TONE OF MEETINGS WITH WALDHEIM, SYTENKO, DE GUIRINGAUD, GENSCHER AND SECRETARY VANCE. HE MADE SURE I UNDERSTOOD THAT REPORTS HAD NOT INCLUDED EVERYTHING, ONLY SELECTED ASPECTS OF WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE. JORDAN ALSO HAD STATED ITS POSITIONS: IT WOULD GO TO GENEVA, BUT ONLY AS CONFRONTATION STATE; PLO SHOULD RECEIVE AN INVITATION; PLO SHOULD REPRESENT PALESTINIANS NOT JORDAN. PLO APPEARED PLEASED WITH THIS APPROACH OF GOJ. PLO SAID THEY WANTED AN INVITATION AND WOULD ACCEPT.

3. ON PARTICULARS OF INVITATION, PLO WOULD OBJECT TO ACCEPTING ON BASIS OF UNSC RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 388, AND HOPED THAT MODIFICATION OF "REFUGEE" ASPECTS OF SECRET

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PAGE 03 AMMAN 01167 01 OF 02 271239Z

242 COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED. GOJ TOLD THEM ITS VIEW WAS THAT IF INVITATION OFFERED TO PLO IT WOULD BE DE FACTO RECOGNITION BY OTHER PARTIES THAT PALESTINIAN "RIGHTS" WERE ACKNOWLEDGED AND PLO COULD COME WITH CONFIDENCE ON THAT BASIS AND NOT WORRY ABOUT MODIFICATION OF 242. BADRAN SAID PLO APPRECIATED THIS INTERPRETATION, BUT MIGHT STILL WANT TO TRY TO MODIFY 242 IF THEY WERE INVITED TO GENEVA.

4. I ASKED BADRAN ABOUT MODIFICATION OF PALESTINE NATIONAL COVENANT IN REGARD TO ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST AND PRESENT LIKELIHOOD OF THAT HAPPENING AT PNC MEETING IN CAIRO ON MARCH 12. HE REPLIED THAT HE HAD ASKED FAHUM SAME QUESTION. FAHUM'S ANSWER WAS THAT PLO ACCEPTANCE OF WEST BANK/GAZA STATE OF NECESSITY ALSO IMPLIED, OR INDEED EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZED THAT ISRAEL WOULD ALSO HAVE TO EXIST. THEREFORE THAT PROVISION OF THE COVENANT HAD BEEN "PLACED BEHIND" AS FAR AS PLO CONCERNED AND WAS NO LONGER

RELEVANT. HE ALSO SAID PLO USED THE PHRASE "JUMPED OVER" TO DESCRIBE THIS POINT.

5. BADRAN THEN DESCRIBED WHAT PLO WANTED AND GOJ RESPONSES:

(A) A FOUR-POWER MEETING TO WORK OUT RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THEM (I.E., EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN AND PLO). GOJ SAYS WILLING TO MEET ANY TIME, ANY PLACE IT IS INVITED TO DO SO.

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 01167 02 OF 02 271245Z  
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 1167

(B) FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS ON WEST BANK. RESPONSE: GOJ WILL NOT HELP PLO TO UNDERTAKE THIS, BUT PLO IS FREE TO DO WHATEVER IT LIKES.

(C) MILITARY SUPPORT FOR PALESTINIANS ON WEST BANK. RESPONSE: THIS IS INADMISSIBLE. JORDAN WILL NOT HEAR OF IT.

(D) OPENING OF MORE PLO OFFICES IN JORDAN (APPARENTLY IN ADDITION TO EXISTING PERMITTED "TAME" PLO OFFICE HERE.) RESPONSE: BADRAN SAID HE INSISTED THAT PLO-GOJ RELATIONSHIPS WOULD NOT REQUIRE THE EXISTENCE OF PLO OFFICES IN JORDAN. THIS WOULD TEND TO LEAD TO RECREATION OF PRE-1970 CONDITIONS WHICH THE KING HAD SPECIFICALLY RULED OUT.

(E) RELEASE OF PALESTINIAN DETAINEES IN GOJ  
PRISONS. RESPONSE ALL PERSONS -- EAST BANKERS  
AND PALESTINIANS -- IN JAIL ARE EQUAL UNDER GOJ LAW.  
IF WE RELEASE PALESTINIANS ACCUSED OF PARTICULAR  
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PAGE 02 AMMAN 01167 02 OF 02 271245Z

CRIME, WE MUST ALSO RELEASE EAST BANKERS.

(F) PERMISSION FOR TWO UNNAMED MEMBERS OF PLO  
EXCOM TO TRAVEL TO DAMASCUS FOR MEETINGS. RESPONSE:  
GOJ HAPPY TO FACILITATE SUCH TRAVEL.

(G) PROVISION OF PASSPORTS TO CERTAIN PALESTINIANS  
NOW NOT ELIGIBLE OR BANNED BY GOJ. RESPONSE: GOJ HAS  
REFUSED OR WITHDRAWN PASSPORT PRIVILEGES FOR GOOD  
REASON AND WILL NOT REVERSE SUCH.

(H) DRAWING UP OF AN AGENDA FOR FUTURE PLO-GOJ  
MEETINGS. RESPONSE: GOJ WILL DISCUSS ANY ISSUE PLO  
WANTS. ANYTHING CAN BE ON THE AGENDA. GOJ AGREED  
TO INCLUSION OF ALL OF THE ABOVE LISTED ITEMS FOR  
FURTHER DISCUSSION.

(I) KING SHOULD MEET ARAFAT BEFORE ARAB 6 MARCH  
CAIRO SUMMIT. RESPONSE: KING HAD LEFT JORDAN ON  
DAY OF PLO DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL FOR LONDON VISIT.  
HE WILL NOT BE BACK UNTIL SHORTLY BEFORE MARCH 6  
SUMMIT. LITTLE TIME FOR BEFORE SUMMIT MEETING, BUT  
KING IS PROBABLY WILLING TO MEET ARAFAT AT SOME POINT  
DURING DIALOGUE.

(J) WHAT ARE FUTURE LINKS TO BE BETWEEN JORDAN  
AND A PALESTINIAN WEST BANK/GAZA STATE IF SUCH IS CREATED? PLO  
HAS NO SUGGESTIONS NOW TO MAKE. RESPONSE: GOJ PROPOSAL IS  
1972 UNITED ARAB KINGDOM PLAN. MANY ARABS ATTACKED  
JORDAN IN 1972 OVER THE PLAN. PLO MET IN BEIRUT  
FOR THREE DAYS TO DISCUSS IT. THE END OF THAT  
REVIEW BROUGHT A NEGATIVE ANSWER. THE GOJ GAVE  
PLO THIS WEEK A PAPER OUTLINING THE UAK PROPOSAL. GOJ WANTS  
PLO TO REVIEW PROPOSAL AND PROVIDE AN ANSWER.

(K) PLO ASKED FOR A THIRD SESSION DURING CURRENT  
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SECRET

PAGE 03 AMMAN 01167 02 OF 02 271245Z

VISIT TO AMMAN, OR IF THAT NOT POSSIBLE, MEETING IN

ONE WEEK ON A DATE CERTAIN. RESPONSE: GOJ HAD COVERED ALL TOPICS RAISED IN FIRST TWO SESSIONS. THIRD SESSION ONLY POSSIBLE IF PLO PREPARED TO DISCUSS JORDAN UAK PROPOSAL. PLO NOT READY TO DO THAT. GOJ RESISTED NEXT MEETING ON DATE CERTAIN NEXT WEEK, BUT PROMISED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH PLO TO SET A TIME FOR NEXT MEETING WHICH IS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE AND AT WHICH GOJ EXPECTS PLO TO DISCUSS UAK PLAN.

6. JORDANIANS REFUSED TO INTRODUCE TIME OF NEXT MEETING IN COMMUNIQUE. BADRAN REPORTED TO KING ON MEETING BY TELEPHONE TO LONDON FEBRUARY 26.

7. COMMENT: FIRST ROUND OF DIALOGUE HAS PROCEEDED SLOWLY WITH NO SURPRISES. GOJ IS IF ANYTHING SLIGHTLY TOUGHER ON SOME PERIPHERAL ISSUES (PRISONER RELEASES) THAN WE MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED. IT SEEMS CLEAR ALSO THAT GOJ IS HOLDING OFF THE NEXT ROUND UNTIL IT CAN SEE WHAT WILL DEVELOP AT 6 MARCH CAIRO SUMMIT. WHILE BOTH SIDES SEEM TO BE STANDING FIRM ON PAST RECORDED POSITIONS -- I.E. JORDAN ON "RABAT SUMMIT" AND PLO ON "NATIONAL COVENANT", THERE IS ALREADY SOME INDICATION THAT EACH MIGHT BE PREPARED TO "JUMP OVER" OR "REINTERPRET" THESE BASIC DECISIONS, WITHOUT PUBLICLY REVERSING THEM, AS THE DIALOGUE CONTINUES. HOW FAR THIS WILL GO IS HARD TO SAY AT THIS POINT. JORDAN'S INTRODUCTION OF THE FUTURE LINKS QUESTION WILL PROBABLY BE AN ACID TEST FOR THE FUTURE AND THE NEXT SEVERAL MEETINGS SHOULD SHOW MORE CLEARLY WHERE THIS DIALOGUE WILL LEAD.  
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